

INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

This material contains information affecting the National Defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C. Secs. 793 and 794, the transmission or revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

50X1-HUM

COUNTRY Poland

REPORT

SUBJECT 1. Views on the Current Political Situation in Poland
2. Alleged Possible Formation of a Puppet Opposition Party

DATE DISTR.

24 APR 1959

NO. PAGES

1

REFERENCES

RD

DATE OF INFO.

50X1-HUM

PLACE & DATE ACQ.

50X1-HUM

SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

1. [redacted] current political situation in Poland. [redacted]
2. Of interest [redacted] is [redacted] that the Poles were seriously considering the organization of a new political party which would appear to be in opposition to the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) but which would actually be a puppet of the communists. It would be known as the Christian Democratic Party and would have as its leader Boleslaw Piasecki, the current chief of the Pax publishing house and associated enterprises.
3. The purpose of this move would be twofold: first, to lend an air of democratic institutionalism to Polish politics and, secondly, to weaken the opposition to the Polish regime of those who remain loyal to Cardinal Wyszynski. The journalist understood that the proposal was to have been discussed at secret sessions during the Third Polish Party Congress and, if approved, the contemplated action would be initiated after a respectable period of time had elapsed following the Congress. Should the new party be formed, Piasecki would ultimately receive a post in the government as Vice Premier.
4. [redacted]

50X1-HUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STATE	#X ARMY	#X NAVY	#X AIR	#X FBI	AEC				
-------	---------	---------	--------	--------	-----	--	--	--	--

(Note: Washington distribution indicated by "X"; Field distribution by "#")

INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

50X1-HUM

COUNTRY : Poland

DATE DISTRIB: 8 April 1959

SUBJECT : Miscellaneous Views on the
Current Political Situation
in Poland

PAGES: 6

50X1-HUM

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

50X1-HUM

-2-

CONFIDENTIAL

Miscellaneous Views On the Current Political Situation in Poland

50X1-HUM

Possible Formation "Puppet" Opposition Party

50X1-HUM

the Polish Government was seriously considering organizing a new political party which would, on the surface, appear to be in opposition to the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, (PZPR). For all intents and purposes, however, this new organization would only be a puppet of the communists. It would be known as the "Christian Democratic Party" and would have as its leader Boleslaw PIASECKI, the current chief of the "PAX" publishing house and associated enterprises.

the purpose of this move would be twofold - first, to lend an air of democratic institutionalism to Polish politics and, secondly, to weaken the opposition to the Polish regime of those who remain loyal to Cardinal WYSZYNSKI. the proposal was to be discussed at secret sessions during the Third PZPR Congress and if approved the contemplated action would be initiated after a respectable period of time had elapsed following the Congress. Should the new party be formed, Piasecki would ultimately receive a post in the government as a Vice-Prime Minister.

50X1-HUM

Piasecki was hated by communist and non-communist alike. He allegedly collaborated with the Gestapo during the Nazi occupation and is currently believed by some Poles to be a Soviet agent. As leader of the PAX enterprises, Piasecki controls a reported one hundred million zloty turnover a year. In its present form PAX has little intrinsic appeal, since its real purposes are recognized by true churchmen and Polish patriots alike.

such a move might have counterproductive effects on the regime's responsibility to maintain political discipline in Poland; at the same time, it would serve communist interests by muddying the waters between the two dichotomies of church and state as they currently exist.

50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

The Press and the Campaign Against Western Influences

the Polish press had been effectively restricted in its activity ever since Gomulka had met with the journalists in February 1957 and advocated certain controls. the Po Prosta closure, as an example of the action which Gomulka was prepared to take if the press exceeded the prescribed boundaries.

50X1-HUM

the resolution which was announced

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

-3-

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

in 1958 (presumably on the basis of decisions reached at the October III Plenum) concerning the harmful nature of certain Western influences could also be interpreted as a restriction on the press. The resolution, which was obviously promulgated by the Cultural Section of the Central Committee, was aimed primarily at stemming the enthusiasm which had been generated in Poland concerning Western authors, composers and artists. [redacted] the impact of translations from HEMINGWAY, CALDWELL, STEINBECK, FAULKNER, MAUGHAM, etc., had been considerable and that there were ever-increasing demands for more translations of this type. As an example, Francois SAGAN's novel "Bonjour Tristesse" was translated and published in one edition (approximately 20,000 copies). It sold out immediately, much to the dismay of thousands of readers who wanted copies.

50X1-HUM

[redacted] the publishing houses were the control points in carrying out the provisions of this resolution, and in many instances enterprises which had already contracted to publish certain translations and had paid a portion of the pre-publication fees were forced to write off such advances as a "total loss". Concurrently, publishing houses were more than subtly reminded that in the future they would be expected to concentrate on the translations of Soviet authors and the works of writers from the "People's Democracies".

50X1-HUM

[redacted] Polish literary "coffee-shop conversation" indicated that this resolution was strongly resented. It was interpreted as another step backward from the "little October Revolution in 1956" and the severance of another tie with the West.

Campaign Against the Church

[redacted] the Polish regime had little alternative but to be "cautious and courteous" in its campaign against the church. From time to time [redacted] weekly-written articles in the Polish press concerning the "harmful effects of religion on the building of socialism," but these were reportedly ignored by the population. [redacted] announcements are made occasionally that legal action is being instituted against certain clergymen.

50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

[redacted] one person [redacted] prosecuted for religious activities [redacted] was the technical manager of a small printing shop in Warsaw. In January 1958 he received a sentence of three to five years imprisonment for printing prayer books without first having them approved by the censor.

50X1-HUM

[redacted] every anti-religious move made by the regime makes the church that much more popular. As a result, the regime makes sure that it acts in accordance with church-state agreement, before it charges anyone attached to the church with anti-state activity. [redacted] Cardinal Wyszynski is extremely popular and [redacted] any action by the state against him would immediately make him a martyr.

50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

50X1-HUM

Rewriting History

[redacted] Goswika's official biography, which was published in

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

December 1958, indicated that he had spent between two and three years before World War II as a student in Moscow. [redacted] this is the first time that such a reference had been made.

[redacted] a pamphlet prepared by Gomulka in 1946 50X1-HUM
[redacted] outlined the history of the PZPR. [redacted] a copy of the party history 50X1-HUM
[redacted] issued in July 1958. The differences in the two versions are considerable and, incidentally, the subject of innumerable jokes among the Polish populace.

Socialist Legality

Although socialist legality was originally defined as being in the "interest of the proletariat" in reality the Politburo controlled all aspects of the law and molded it to suit political trends. As an example [redacted] the 50X1-HUM
persecution which members of the Polish Resistance Army (A.K.) suffered during the period 1948-53. After the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A.K. members were gradually released from prison, and following 50X1-HUM
October 1956 some were completely exonerated and in many cases termed national heroes. [redacted] in this instance the law, itself, had remained the same but the ruling circles had completely reversed their interpretation of it to serve their purposes.

PZPR Political Psychology

50X1-HUM

In its attitude towards the masses, the Party was represented as endeavoring to divest the individual of all vestiges of human dignity. The mind was accordingly enslaved through varying degrees of terror - either physical or psychological, either implied or direct. After the events of late 1956, conditions in certain fields were liberalized. At the same time the Government intentionally worsened economic conditions. Salaries were frozen and prices of selected goods were increased, although certain concessions were made to the peasants. The Party obviously had adopted the theory that, if a person is occupied with day-to-day problems, he does not have time for politics. [redacted] 50X1-HUM
[redacted] general enthusiasm [redacted] was prevalent in Poland in the months following the events of October 1956. [redacted] 50X1-HUM

[redacted] It became obvious [redacted] that the party leaders must either adhere to Moscow's principles or fight them, there being no such thing as national communism in the Kremlin's eyes or any other form of political chauvinism. 50X1-HUM

[redacted] as a totality, the Polish population could be termed a formidable, anti-communist bulwark. Individually, however, the average Pole tends only to exist for his personal day-to-day needs. During World War II, the Poles were unified in their resistance to the Germans. The same cohesiveness does not exist against the Soviet occupation. The common loyalty which has traditionally existed among the Polish population [redacted] has 50X1-HUM
greatly diminished and the people look upon their brothers as "one wolf regards another wolf." Under such conditions, it is only normal for the security police to obtain most of their information through anonymous denunciations. In comparison

CONFIDENTIAL

-5-

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

with the past, the population has fewer morals, fewer ethics and a minimum of ideals. The country is divided between the "have's" and the "have not's." The "have's" are mainly concerned with perpetuating themselves, the "have not's" with survival in day-to-day life.

Inner-Immigration

50X1-HUM

a process of "inner-immigration." [redacted] is the term often used in Poland to describe those people who immunize themselves to the measures taken by the state to produce the "socialist man" and at the same time consciously concentrate only on subjects with which they can enjoy mental and spiritual freedom.

50X1-HUM

Unfortunately, the majority of workers are bound to state salaries and therefore must always be aware of their personal and family responsibilities. There are many, however, operating their own small shops, who are able to maintain more independent thoughts, and the broad mass of the peasantry through their resistance to collectivization have displayed dramatically their lack of sympathy with communist agricultural policies. [redacted] in many respects this phenomenon combined certain aspects of passive resistance with positive aspects of an inner force which precludes a person from becoming completely lethargic and apathetic.

50X1-HUM

The Political Spectrum

[redacted] political thinking in Poland into the following categories:

50X1-HUM

1. The activist - dedicated PZPR member.
2. The opportunist - the PZPR member, non-dedicated.
3. The careerist - the non-party member in a responsible position.
4. The realist - the simple worker dependent on the State for his livelihood.
5. The isolationist - the peasant and private artisan who normally react passively to regime policies and endeavor to avoid any activity with political implications.
6. The idealist - the patriot consciously and actively engaged in undermining the regime.

[redacted] the Polish peasants pose the greatest problem to the government. This problem is not necessarily based on their number, but on the fact that the Polish peasant is more insistent than peasants in the other "People's Democracies" about receiving a commensurate return for his labor. The "wild intellectuals" as a group are considered the second most formidable opponents to communist rule. Persons in this category are invariably respected and their influence over those who did not know pre-World War II Poland is considerable.

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

-6-

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

In like manner, the post-war intellectual is depicted as intelligent and well informed about living and working conditions in the West. He is able, therefore, to question with authority communist dogma and policies, even though he must be cautious in the dissemination of his views.

The most flamboyant element of Polish society [redacted] is 50X1-HUM the young intellectual. Although indoctrinated along socialist lines and educated in all phases of communism, the youth almost automatically look to the West for its inspiration. It is not the Soviet but the Western style, mannerism, attitude, etc., that appeal to them. [redacted] although students 50X1-HUM are forced to study the Russian language, few have any interest in it or can speak it. On the other hand, students often on their own time study French and English. Since they are usually subjected to institutional discipline, Polish youths usually remain passive in their resistance to the communist system. On occasion, however, this passiveness seeks self-expression, as the events of the past three years have demonstrated.

50X1-HUM

Increased Police Activity

[redacted] the population sensed the tightening of controls throughout the country. Conversations which related one's personal convictions had become much more guarded than had been the case in early 1957. Western influences were being systematically negated. [redacted] broadcasts from Western radio 50X1-HUM stations are being more effectively jammed. [redacted] From October 1956 until April 1957, 50X1-HUM Polish passports were being issued relatively freely; the issuance of passports is now much more restricted. [redacted] 50X1-HUM during 1958 there had been 250,000 applications for Polish passports, but [redacted] only a fraction of that number had been issued. [redacted] the regime restricted the issuance of passports by not 50X1-HUM increasing the size of the administrative staff which processes the applications. [redacted] often a person has to stand in line several hours just to receive 50X1-HUM information concerning the filing of an application. Because of such administrative practices, applicants are often dissuaded from following through with their applications.

CONFIDENTIAL